small baker's scoops and row facing the front in contrast to the French who turn their backs to where they are going. These pirogues have no more draft than a small boat, no deck, or storage place, and no cover to keep beds, flour, and other goods dry other than an umbrella made of palm leaves and put over the blocks used to haul the pirogues up on the beach.

The man who organizes the voyage is captain of the pirogue, even if it does not belong to him. He gives all the orders of departure and return, and the others rely on him.

They use no dial or compass at sea. During the day they steer by the sun and at night by the stars, of which they have (knowledge). When they land, they make shelters against the rain where they may hang their beds. We call these ajoupas, which they make with banana or wild plantain leaves, or any other convenient ones: men render their father-in-law this service. They redden the back of their pirogue with a red earth that they say is the dung of a large snake they call aloubera, and which lives in a fearful cave.

[64] CHAPTER VIII

The Labors of Our Savages and First of The Men

512 They all get up very early, before dawn, and bathe in the stream,
462 after which they light a fire in the great hall and chat while warming themselves. Some of them play the flute, although they know nothing about playing. When day arrives the women bring the men whatever they have to eat. That done, some go fishing, others clear woods to make gardens for planting manioc or sweet potatoes, others work on their canoes, and still others make little objects of handicraft
415 after their fashion, such as the katouli [catoli]. This is a type of
[462] basket which the women carry on their backs by means of a cotton strap which they loop around their forehead, in contrast to our manner of using two straps which go under the arms and over the shoulders. These catoli are not closed behind, because the women secure whatever they put in by tying it with cords which are passed through holes on the two sides. Also, they make long baskets which fit together, the top one forming a cover for the bottom one. They make double

415 baskets with two weaves filled with custard-apple tree leaves between, and which are impenetrable by rain. There are also hébechets [or: ibichets], which are the sacks through which they strain their manioc flour. Also, there is the couleuvre [lit: 'adder'—because of its snake-like shape?—Ed.], a kind of arm-long sock to press the flour [252] in. They attach the top to a peg and from the bottom roll a staff which they weigh down heavily, either by sitting on it or otherwise, [352] and in no time their flour is dry. Others make matoutous, which are their tables. They are low, some round, some square, a little higher 285 than a cassava. All this small handiwork which we have mentioned is made of certain large rushes that they call oualomam [oualloman] that they dry and split into long, thin strips and paint black or red 386 before using them. The red is from annatto, the black is from [65] the gum tree or the sandalwood which they burn. So that the dyes will be fast, they dissolve the second bark of a certain tree in water, which gives a strong liquid glue. They wet the reeds with this, then put on their annatto or black, then rub the reeds again with the gluey water. After drying in the sun, the paint never comes off. Others [513] among them make belts; others fishing lines and so forth. When they 384 go to bed, they always make a fire beneath their beds.

The Labors of The Women

512 The women are almost slaves of the men. They provide them 462 with food and drink, take care of the children, and follow them everywhere to prepare their food.

As soon as they get up, they also go to bathe. Then they begin to scrape and shred manioc, make bread for breakfast, and prepare whatever they have for their husbands. Breakfast over, the women go to work. Some go to their gardens to plant manioc or sweet potatoes with a pointed stick, since they do not use hoes; others weed. 303 The men do not trouble at all with that. The women who stay at 462 the hut make cotton hammocks or make oil to rub or grease their husbands' hair with. They make this oil from a seed which they call couáheu. They first let the seed rot, then dry it over the fire, then knead it between their hands, often spitting on it. Then they put it in the sun for a while and afterwards throw it in their couleuvres and press it to squeeze out the oil. They also make oil from the

1:Breton & La Paix--18a M-5 (1635-1647) 1929 ST13 Callinago ST13

285
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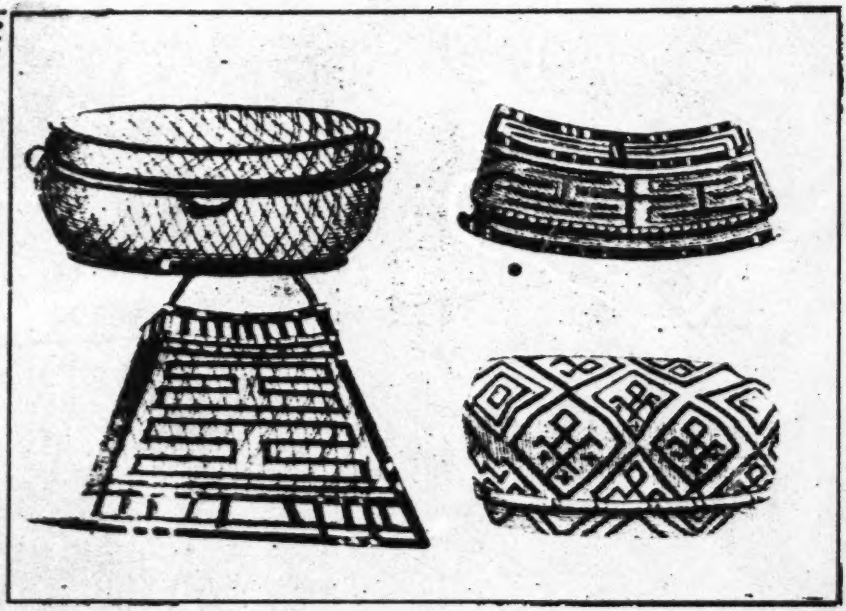

Carib Baskets
Engraving of the beginning of the Eighteenth Century

After the god of a boye has drunk well he says "I am drunk, much hindered, and embarrassed." When a sacrifice is offered to him he calls his companions. They drink up the contents of all of the large pots, or at least pretend to do so. When they wish to leave, they practice a deception upon the hearing of the assembly. They tip their calabash drinking cups back into the large pots, and according to the sound it makes you might think that the pots are empty. However, the next morning these same pots are full which seems to the Caribs to be a great miracle. The old men and the most important among them gather to drink it. But the false gods have ordered it to be drunk upon an empty stomach, and also under the condition that they have not touched their wives during the night. You might judge it to be a monkey trick of the devil to imitate our sacrament. [148]

The Caribs believe that the moon is a man, and that once upon a time the moon saw a girl while she was asleep and he made her pregnant. This obliged the mother to give the girl a person to watch over her. The guardian surprised the moon one night and blackened him with genipap, in order to recognize the culprit. The Caribs say this is the reason for the spots on the moon which appear today. The child born from the girl was named Hiàli, and he later laid the first foundations of the Carib nation. The hummingbird was chosen to carry Hiâli to his father, and having faithfully performed its task, it obtained as a reward a beautiful crest for its head and its feathers were turned many colors. [293] The boyes have enough temerity to claim that they fly up to the moon in the heavens. One day a boye told me about his trip there. I recognized his foolishness when he said the moon looked like open rocks with trickling water everywhere. It is even sometimes said that their false gods raise them visibly and that the roof of the house opens itself to let them through it. The simple people do not understand that this is done by magic, and so they say with great admiration "he has wings." [234] The false gods address the Caribs as huéyou-ago in order to flatter them. These false gods do not call them "under the moon" but rather "over the sun," if I may express myself in this way. [263]

The Caribs have never heard about Pythagorus, but nevertheless they seem to be imbued with the idea of metempsychosis, for they have an expression which means "men do not become stones." [189] They do not know what it is to pray to God, although they believe it to be

3. Feasts and Manners

572 The word compere [literally: pal] is in usage in all of the
177 islands where there are Caribs -- among the French when they trade with their Carib friends, and among the Caribs when they speak in French to those with whom they have become friends. A Frenchman gives his name to a Carib and the Carib gives his name to the Frenchman. Even if he does not give such a man his trade, at least he prefers him to others, and this does not fail to give him some profit. [320]

422 The Caribs have so few belongings that they are able to carry all of them with them, without having any desire to acquire more.
437 Thus when the Caribs have a tortoise which they want to exchange for a knife, they will not trade it if you should offer them two axes for it. The reason is that they have a need for the knife, although the axes are worth more. Our own possessions, although high-priced and scarce, would have no value among them. [291] The Caribs do not use terms for buying and selling. They ask without haggling and one gives the article to them for that which is offered without difficulty. [312]

511 The Caribs cannot fail to rank as church paupers, and to have the love of Jesus Christ, and to be accepted by the Kingdom of Heaven. For they possess neither gold nor silver and they have neither bag nor wallet, nor coat nor staff, and they do not even have the desire to obtain them. A hut to protect them from the elements satisfies their ambition. Tomali [tamale?] is their stew, and crabs are the
● 415 most delicate food that they have. Calabashes serve them for crockery, and baskets serve as chests. Earthen pots are used as kettles and
574 cauldrons. When they change islands and when they go to another
[264] carbet, drink and food are not refused them. They reciprocate equally to others in a similar situation, provided that the others do not arrive too late, for they save nothing for the following day. [316] The Caribs ask fearlessly, and give freely, when they have something. [273]

574 The Caribs have their accustomed civilities. One particular man
576 is in charge of receiving those who visit. He makes ready a hammock for them if they are important, or a stool if they are common, and has them sit. He summons a woman who carries to the guest a small wicker table which is laden with cassava and other things and it is set in front of him. Then the man in charge says, "My compere, this is for you to eat." The visitor replies with a thank you. If the cassava is unfolded

313 these into their carrying baskets. They come home loaded and give enough to each one to make a fire under his hammock during the night. [232]

248 Cotton is indispensable to the Caribs for hammocks, for stringing ornaments, and for tying the feathers on their arrows. They also use it to fasten their arrowheads made either of green wood or of the tail of the sting ray, in place of iron. It is to obtain cotton that leads them to fish at the Saints or to catch crabs at Marie-Galante, for they make clearings in those places to grow cotton. You see very few Caribs who do not always carry a small roll of cotton in their baskets. The French ships do not willingly encumber themselves with cotton because of the fear of fire and because it does not load ship well. [280]

283 The women having taken the cotton from its pod and picked out the seeds then put a headless arrowshaft into it. Then they turn the cotton, which thins like carded wool. When it breaks off they attach an end to the arrow. A woman holds the arrow in one hand and in the other holds a spindle which is as long as an arm's length or more. The thread stop is a round object made of tortoise shell and is as wide as the hand with a length of about half a foot measured from the end of the shaft. This end is placed on the ground. The spindle shaft point is pressed against the women's thigh, and she rolls it back and forth with her extended hand up and down the length of her thigh. This is how the Carib women spin thread. [114]

● 415 A small calabash is cut into two parts and is painted by the women. It is used as a glass or a cup. [439] They cut halves from two calabashes in such a way that one half fits inside the other and forms a box. They pass cords through it and they use them as little chests, as bags, and as knapsacks. [128] They use a big and long calabash as a pot for a drink offered to some visitor, or when a sacrifice is offered. It rests on the longest part and is open on the other side. They draw off water from the opening in this calabash using a smaller one. [198]

231 The Caribs never feed any animals except by necessity or entertainment. If they have roosters it is to wake them up in the morning. If they keep birds it is to draw out their plumes in order to adorn themselves, and they use the other kind to teach their children to fish and hunt. If they keep dogs it is to hunt pigs and agoutis. If they have chickens they would prefer to die rather than to eat them, and

411 the sap which comes out is pure poison. They dip their arrows into it. [67] There is another kind of arrowhead made from the tip of a ray's tail. This is the most dangerous arrow because it is sharp at the end and swells after it enters. Besides it is saw-toothed, and is of itself poisonous. [90]

415 The catâoli is the carrying basket of the Carib women woven with rush called oüalloman. This basket does not look like the baskets of France. It has a rather large bottom and is completely open in the front. The two sticks are fastened with mahot bark four fingers wide which then passes around the head and is supported by the forehead rather than by the arms. They carry articles in it by tying them firmly with a small cord. They carry cotton hammocks, manioc, and other things. These would not stay inside unless they were fastened. Each woman has her own. [111] With regard to [482] lighter burdens they bend the elbow against the side and carry them with forearm upright, the hand opposite the shoulder, as when they carry calabashes full of oüicou. [124]

The iamânti is a double basket lined between the two walls with cachibou leaves. This basket is made of a reed called ticasguet. They also attach the sails of their canoes to this reed. [267] They pass two strings into the interweaving of the basket in order to tighten it. They also do the same with a crudely made basket covered with chibou leaves. This is used as a mold for the other basket made over it which they fasten with sticky strings. [147]

[352] The matoûtou is a small table woven of oüalloman reed. It is very neatly made and rests on four little sticks half a foot high. They make an offering by spreading cassava on this table and placing a calabash full of food on it. [357] Some ibichets [sifter, seive] are used to strain oüicou and the holes of this kind are close together. There are others used to sift manioc flour, the holes being square. The Caribs make them with oüalloman reeds. There are two shapes of sieves, round and square. The square shaped ones are more convenient because they are mounted on sticks which support them. [189]

416 252 The Carib manioc press is called mâtabi. It looks like a long stocking, and is woven of oüalloman. It is hung by its upper end. When filled with manioc flour it has the appearance of a snake and also the name of one. The Caribs pass a large stick through the lower end of the press, (one end) of the stick being stuck under and held by a piece of wood. The upper end (of the stick) is loaded with some

●415 locks which lengthens and presses this basketry so much that by its 252 weight is easily draws out of the flour all of the water which is in it. The Caribs collect the water in a calabash and use it to cook their meats. Only the old Caribs know how to make this device. [356] The ócoácae is a basket loosely woven from oualloman strips which they make at the same time as the snake-like manioc press used to press their flour. [395] (This basket may have been used to contain the stone weights which would explain its manufacture in conjunction with the manioc press--Editors.)

The camoúcoulou is a calabash made of grass which holds a full bucket of water. [107]

824 The comáti is a tree which the Caribs use by stripping and grating the under bark. They press out the juice which they mix with a little water, in order to dilute it so that it can be used. Then, when their oualloman is prepared they tie its wooden supports right at the middle in order to make beautiful baskets. Next they varnish this gummy juice on half of it. Immediately after this beautiful black becomes dry they revarnish it again which makes it beautiful, shining, and so durable that unless you scrape it off it does not disappear. [175] Some urucu unmixed with oil is used to redden the oualloman reeds when they make baskets. [397]

412 The word tacháragle is used to refer to many tools. It may be an iron chisel, a cudgel of wood shaped like a wood chisel which they use to stuff oakum into seams, or it may be a kind of poker dipped into pitch to calk the boat. It is also a spindle with which the women spin, or it can be a stick used to pierce the earth for planting tobacco. [113] From the thorn of a palmetto they make a needle, as long as a finger, with which they make thread used for their sashes. This needle is also used in their hairdress. [114]

534 The Caribs cut certain tap roots, scoop them out, and make flutes. [186] They have three flutes arranged and attached together. I have seen two Caribs at a drinking party who decided to play it and danced to its cadence opposite to one another. They did this so well that our own dancers would scarcely excel them. [239]

252 415 The great earthen pots in which the Caribs make their ouicou are called canálli or canari. The ouicou which has fermented is sifted and put into pots called chamácou and taóloña. They are filled and put before guests instead of ordinary pots. Such great pots may hold the volume of twenty to thirty ordinary pots, or they may hold less according to the number of people served. The roñara pot is used to cook sweet potatoes. The iáligali pot is used to roast fish. There is a fire underneath and it has no bottom, being placed on some stones. In order to have some draft it is narrow at the top. Some little sticks are placed across the mouth on which they put fish which cooks slowly, the heat being retained within the pot. [107] They use three rocks to support a pot when they put it on the fire. [350] The boutéicha is an earthen jar. [94] The boutalli has the shape of a dish on which the French women dry their collars, and they have retained its name. It is made of baked earth and is placed on three rocks at a height from the ground of half a foot or more, with a smokeless blaze underneath. Having warmed it up, manioc flour is poured on it and cooked. This is the Carib oven. [93] They cover the mouth of a pot when they burn gum under it to blacken it in order that the smoke sticks to the vessel. [62]

The Carib grill is made with four forked sticks planted into the ground with traverse sticks across. It has a great fire underneath. The Carib word for grill is arſbelet. [52]

9. Dress and Ornaments

291 If their nakedness is shocking, their carefulness prevents as much as it can the unruled movements of a corrupted nature from appearing. Furthermore, they have a belt at the level of their kidney which hangs around the front. They attach it with windings around the prepuce [304] which is not circumcised, although some people have hinted they were Jews. They do not crudely perform indecent actions in front of people; this is not what some people, cruder than the Caribs, attempt to make us believe. I should say for their honor, and to make the Christians ashamed, that I have never seen them perform a shameful action in front of people. [227]

512 Other men go to their houses in order to chop wood, or spend their
462 time at some small task which they consider necessary. Some em-
● [415] ploy themselves by making ibichets. These are little sifters, round or square, with such small holes that they use them to sift their flour and oticou. They make them from the first barbs of a plant which the Caribs of Dominica call ocalloman and which I have described under the name of solaman because I have heard it named by others in this way.

Still other men are seen making lines to fish in the open sea, others make cotton belts, while the laziest men of all cut off their beard with a knife or pluck it out, hair by hair. Some make boutou clubs, bows, arrows, or catolis which are a kind of carrying basket used by the women. The more industrious work on canoes and pirogues and often spend several full years making one.

241 When they go to clear the forest for the habitation of a neighbor,
462 it takes about two or three hours to do, if they feel like working. They knock down the trees in a hundred foot square, the wood lying in confusion on the ground. They then go drinking, and get drunk
[461] for the rest of the day and sometimes the whole night. Concerning all of these tasks, they work an hour a day, and even then so slackly that they seem to be mocking their job.

They consume the rest of the time being painted and combed by their wives, playing the flute, and having daydreams.

883 All this which has just been described is the work of men. However, all the youths continually practice drawing the bow and become so expert that they can shoot flying birds. They sometimes wrestle,
[524] but in a very different way from the French, for they grab each other by the forearm and give each other such shakes that Father Raymond [Breton] states he saw a man who, having been thrown on the ground, remained there more than a quarter of an hour before he became fully conscious.

562 Whatever may be said about the Indies being the paradise for
512 women, this is true only for our French women, as we shall describe in its place. Concerning the Carib wives, they are more exactly
[461] slaves of their husbands, rather than companions, for they are never
462 idle. As soon as they get up they go to bathe, and then prepare their
512 husbands' soup which is made with some boiled bananas. After the husband has been served a full plate, and he is through with it, they

301 two plates. These leggings are very much prized by the girls and
[358] women because they are an infallible mark of their freedom; the slave women never wear them. Nevertheless, they are inconvenient and painful; when water gets these leggings they tighten so much that the women sometimes weep because of the pain it causes them.

9. Carbets, Houses, Beds, Pirogues, and Canoes

342 Concerning the dwellings, the houses or habitations of the Caribs, each family forms a settlement. The father of the family has his house, where he lives with his unmarried children [the young unmarried men]. The wives and all their unmarried children [boys and young unmarried women] live in their own houses around that of the father. These houses have no ceiling under the roof and are separated into two or three rooms. One is used for eating, another for sleeping and to receive guests who wish to visit them. Some have a special room where they put all the caconnes, that is to say, precious things like bows, arrows, clubs, axes, billhooks, and knives.
●415 They also add their hammocks and their small baskets, where they keep their mirrors, scissors, necklaces, and chains of glass beads—in a word all their ornaments.

The other utensils used for eating and drinking are kept in the kitchens. These consist of small earthenware jars; canaris, which are large jars used in making ouicou; and some other small vessels which they call coui. The coui are made of calabashes.

352 The rest of their furniture consists of small three-legged stools, carved from a single block of wood. They also use small tables with four wooden legs called matoutou, woven from latan [palm] leaves and reeds.

[344] Their gardens, where they plant provisions, are in the woods
344 separated from the place where they ordinarily live. In the midst of the houses there is a large common house [men's house] which they call a carbet. The carbet is always sixty to eighty feet long. They are made by putting large posts eighteen to twenty feet high into the ground. The upper ends of these posts are forked, and they lay a latan [palm] or some other very straight tree on these forks. Upon

5: Rouse E-4 (no date) 1948 ST13 Callinago ST13 (1650-1700)

methods of planting and of preparation as the *Arawak*. The kitchen utensils, however, were more varied. The *Carib* made their graters from coral, from thorny branches, or by inserting wood or stone splinters in a plank. They removed the juice in a cylindrical basketry strainer (pl. 94), hung with a weight from a tree; sifted the flour in a basketry sieve; and baked the cake on either a stone or a clay griddle with the aid of a wooden spatula. [241] 415

Corn, sweetpotatoes, yams, beans, and peppers also were cultivated, the corn being made into bread as among the *Arawak*. The sweetpotato and the yam were particularly important; they were planted as cuttings after a rain. When full grown the tubers were roasted or boiled and eaten with a sauce like that made for meat. The roots and leaves were used as a seasoning. 241 252

The *Carib* ate fruits of various kinds, including the banana (post-Conquest), the plantain, the guayba, the papaya, and the pineapple. Bananas were cooked in sugared water; both they and the other fruits were also pounded in a mortar to make a thick paste. Sugarcane, acquired from the Spaniards, was boiled in water or was chewed fresh, and honey was mixed with water to make a drink. 252

Eating.—Except for the morning meal taken soon after fixing their hair and bodies, the *Carib* ate irregularly. Men sat on low stools in the carbet (men's house) and were served by women on little tables (matoutou), covered with leaves. Later the women ate by themselves in the kitchen. 264

VILLAGES AND HOUSES

Settlements.—*Carib* villages were located in the areas least favorable for surprise attacks by the enemy, being usually on the windward side of the island and in an open space upon a rise in the land. Each village was near a stream, which provided drinking water and was used daily for bathing. The villages were moved frequently, after a death, sickness, or some other disagreeable incident. Each was small; it consisted of a carbet (men's house), various smaller houses for the women, and several storage platforms. These structures were arranged irregularly around a small plaza where the people were accustomed to sit by the light of a fire at night. 361

Houses.—The carbet (taboüi) was an oval building, which later became rectangular, about 60 feet (18 m.) long and 20 feet (6 m.) wide. To construct it the *Carib* set into the ground forked posts 10 feet (3 m.) high and lashed across beams to the tops of these posts. They laid on poles, extending from the ground at one end to the peak of the house at the other; bound other poles horizontally over the first set; and thatched the whole down to the ground with palm leaves. The floor was of dirt and had a hearth in the center. There were no partitions; the only openings were a door no more than 4 feet (1.2 m.) high in the middle of each side and end. 342

5: Rouse E-4 (no date) 1948 ST13 Callinago ST13
(1650-1700)

if the vessel overturned. Large rectangular baskets, turned upside down 285
and provided with wooden legs 4 to 6 inches high, were used as
tables (matoutou). The basketry technique was used also in the manufacture of strainers, sieves, and mats, the functions of which have been described above. In historic times the natives had brooms.

The weaving of cloth may not have been an original part of *Carib* 286
culture. The women had wooden spindles for making thread and used belt looms for weaving it. They stretched the warp threads from a stick on one side of the house to a stick on the other; then two women wove in the weft, beating the threads down with a sword-shaped stick. The cloth was dyed with various colors, particularly red, and was sewn with a needle made from a palmetto spine.

Pottery and gourds.—The *Carib* baked pots and griddles of clay; the 145 ●
former were indispensable for making beer. They had numerous gourd [323]
containers, made by removing the pulp with hot water and pebbles. These included bottles for ututú, covered bowls (coyenbouc) for carrying trinkets, platters, cups, dippers, and spoons. Often they were engraved or painted. Coconut shells were treated in the same manner.

Woodworking.—The men not only carved canoes of wood but also 322
they made bowls, which were used primarily for drinking bouts, and stools, which either were solid or were provided with four legs.

Fire making.—The people made fire by rubbing one mahot stick 372
against another.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Except in wartimes, each *Carib* village seems to have been an indepen- 621
dent organization. It consisted of an extended family which had split away from some other village and was headed by its founder. This man, 622
called a carbet chief or tiubutuli-hauthe, had charge of the carbet and of the entertainment which took place therein. He probably also supervised fishing and the cultivation of the land, which seems to have been communal. Although he was treated with deference, he had little authority. The *Carib* men were individualists, and they looked down upon the [167]
Europeans for taking orders.

Each island also had one or two war chiefs, called ubutu, who were 624
elected to hold office for life. Except that ownership of a caracoli seems to have been one of the requirements for this chieftainship, no heredity was involved in the office. However, a son might succeed his father if he could prove himself worthy. He had to be an experienced warrior with a good record, excel in swimming and diving, show that he could carry a greater burden than his followers, and bear burning and slashing of his flesh without flinching.

The war chief was particularly honored. He was provided with an assistant, and wherever he went he was surrounded by a retinue. His

5: Rouse E-4 (no date) 1948 ST13 Callinago ST13
(1650-1700)

PLATE 94.—Carib manufactures. (After Sheldon, 1890, pl. 14.)

[p. 564 B]

6: Taylor E-5 (1930-1937) 1938
ST13 Callinago ST13

285 824 (2) Roseau (*Gynerium saccharoides*), a sugarcanelike reed found near water. The midrib of the leaf is peeled, bleached by laying it in the dew, and dried in the sun. While inferior to larouman in strength, it is of a purer white, and is therefore used in small decorative baskets and for plaiting hats. Its cane, employed for edging Carib panniers, is merely peeled and scraped.

(3) Racines-palmiste, the aerial, reddish colored roots of the mountain palmiste (*Euterpe montana*, *Areca regia*). Used especially for making shoulder carry-alls. Cut, peeled, and scraped, then split into two or three strands according to their size and to the worker's requirements.

(4) Mibi (*Stigmatophyllum puberum*), liane-pomme (*Merecuja* sp.), liane grise, calabouli, and corde caco are the local names of varying and differently used lianas. The first requires only to be scraped, after which it may be dyed yellow or mauve—in the first instance by steeping it in the expressed juice of a small-bush carrotlike fruit, locally called saffron; in the second case, by soaking it in an infusion of the leaves of a small or medium sized tree known as "tan" (?)—not *Byrsonima spicata*, which is also known as "tan." Liane-pomme (the water lemon of the English Creoles) is only peeled before use, while the others require no preparation.

(5) Latanier (*Thrinax* sp.). The septa of the mature leaves are split in two and worked before becoming too dry.

(6) Bamboo. Dried indoors and split into fine strands.

(7) Balisier (*Heliconia bihai* and *H. caribbaea*). The midrib is sun-dried and parallel lengths tied with twine to form simple roll-up mats.

(8) Bakua (*Pandanus* sp.). As (5).

(9) Vétiver (*Vetiveria odorata*). The leaf is bleached by boiling, dried in the sun, and split in two for plaiting into hats, etc.

285 415 (1) Carib panniers (pagára) are made in wicker ("Armadillo") pattern, multiple weft, and in duplicate. The inner lining, or "mama," is all white, while the outer covering, or "skin," is usually worked in two or more colors (fig. 17). Between these two component parts a layer of sun-dried cachibou (*Maranta cachibou*) or balisier leaves is arranged carefully to render the basket watertight. The orthodox style consists of a receptacle and a cover (both in duplicate), the latter having two-thirds the depth and a foundation of four strands more than the former, over which it fits tightly. Made in all sizes and shapes, the commonest average, without the cover, is about 30 by 24 inches by 18 inches deep. Some are as large as an old-fashioned trunk, while others, of miniature dimensions, are made in "niches" of 9 or 12 baskets that fit into one another after the manner of a Chinese puzzle. A game-basketlike variety of identical construction, but whose width is about one-third its height and a quarter its length (so

6: Taylor E-5 (1930-1937) 1938
ST13 Callinago ST13

as to admit being slung by a cord from the shoulder), is known as "portemanteau." "Valise" is the name given to a still more flattened type (fig. 18). 285 415

There are only two or three Caribs left in Dominica who claim to know how to make baskets of the so-called tressed variety, and those examples of the latter I so far have seen must be classed as of freak

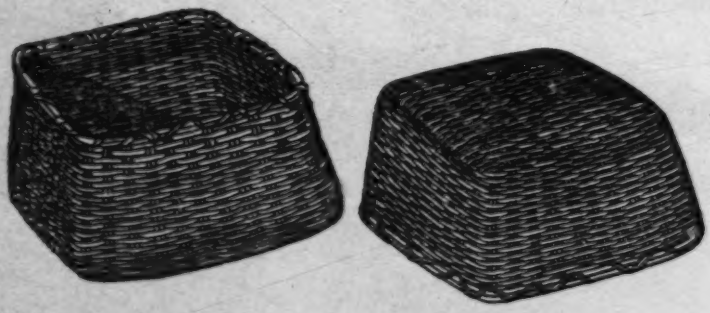

FIGURE 17.—Carib pannier and cover.

rather than orthodox pattern. Probably as the market for the better work grew worse—the average price for the ordinary Armadillo pagàra has fallen in 10 years from a dollar to a shilling—the older men ceased to interest themselves in these ornamental wefts and the young men never learned them.

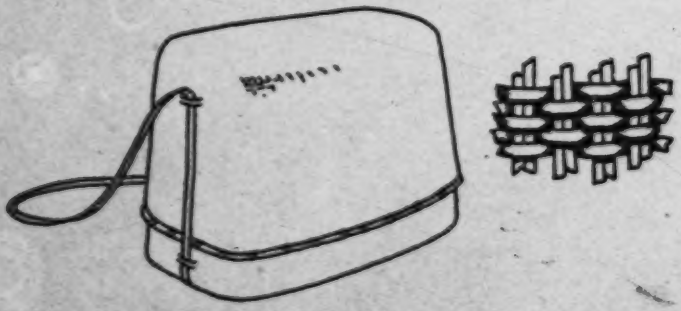

FIGURE 18.—Valise.

Other utensils manufactured from larouman strands are:

(a) The "panier cocaille," used for storing eggs, etc., in shape somewhat resembling an openwork basket with hexagonal base (fig. 19). Made in open hexagonal weave with horizontal cross-weave. About 1 foot to 18 inches across.

(b) The "bébichet," or cassava sifter, made in the alternate one-over-and-under-two pattern, either round or, less commonly, rectangular (fig. 20). The projecting strands are bound onto a double-hoop edging made from two superimposed lengths of a stout liana known

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285 locally as corde caco (*Heteropteris platyptera*). The rectangular
415 variety are of closer weave and somewhat resemble trays.

(*c*) Cassava squeezer (fig. 21) (matapi or couleuvre, so called) has gone out of general use and become extremely rare in the last 20 years through neglect or inability on the part of the younger generation in their manufacture. The domestic article measures 4½ to 5 feet in length and about 4 inches across the mouth when not in use; its making entails the use of a great deal of larouman, of time, and of care. The local method seems to have been that described by Roth with regard to the Guiana productions, except that here the final strands seem to have been bound around a liana or bamboo ring sometimes instead of being woven into the more usual stirrup-like contrivance for taking the lever. I have endeavored to reintroduce their manufacture and general use, especially with regard to the smaller models, which might form an article of sale to tourists.

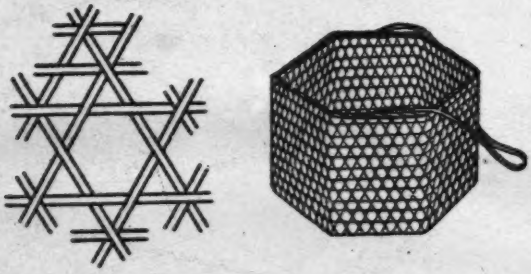

FIGURE 19.—"Panier coualle."

285 (*d*) Matùtu, or Carib tables.
352 These have quite disappeared today, though some old men remember having seen them in their youth. From such descriptions as the latter could give me, they would seem to have resembled the rectangular hébichets, with short sticks, about 18 inches in height, set into the four corners. From all verbal accounts they were made of larouman, and not, as some authors state, from latanier (*Thrinax* sp.).

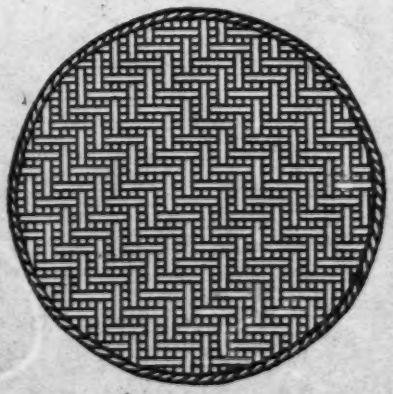

FIGURE 20.—Cassava sifter.

235 (*e*) Finger traps, or "wife leaders", as they are sometimes called, are also made of larouman, but have been described already in the section entitled "Childhood: Games and Pastimes."

(2) Roseau is often used, mixed with larouman, in Carib panniers destined for sale. It is of a purer white than the latter and more easily worked. The cane itself invariably forms the bordering or edging of the panniers. In recent years hats have been woven by the

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women from this material. Fans resembling those of the Guiana Indians are woven in Dominica today, though curiously, not by the Caribs themselves, from a mixture of roseau and larouman strands (fig. 22).

(3) Racines-palmistes, the reddish and, in the big tree, aerial roots

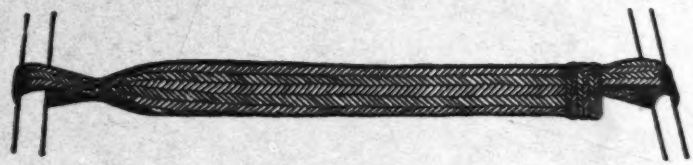

FIGURE 21.—Cassava squeezer.

of the mountain palmiste (*Areca* sp., *Euterpe montana*), provide exceedingly stout strands which might serve a number of purposes, but are used almost exclusively for the manufacture of shoulder baskets (patois has "djolà" and "conten", more rarely the Carib "catoli"; Roth calls them knapsacks) (fig. 23). They are made here in both close and openwork weave, the former being more common, and of the alternate, one-strand-over-and-under-two-others (which latter are in pairs) pattern. The openwork mesh is of the diagonal type, with interpolated horizontal weft.

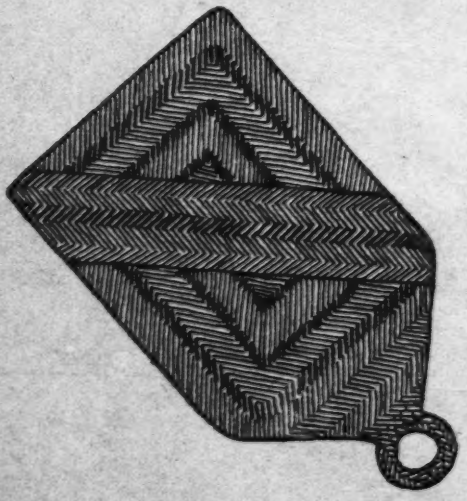

FIGURE 22.—Fan.

(4) These lianas are used, as is bamboo, in making round and oval-based baskets with simple radiate warp and over-and-under-one weft. Since they have a handle hooped over the top, these are known generally as "paniers à l'anse." The warp strands cross at their centers in superimposed groups of four or six, and into these the weft is woven spirally—at first over and under each successive pair, then over and under each successive strand. Market baskets are made from mibi, while the stouter lianas are used in those made for carrying produce from the provision grounds. It seems likely, as Roth suggests with regard to similar baskets in Guiana, that this type is of African and not native origin.

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285 415 (5) Latanier (*Thrinax* sp.), a fan-shaped palm which seems to have been used in the past, according to old authors, much more than at the present time, having then served in the manufacture of tables, squeezers, and even baskets. Perhaps the palm has become scarcer, or it may be that the authors were mistaken. Within the reserve its use is confined today to broom making, and to plaiting and sewing its septae into a sort of game basket (fig. 24) they call "djokom". The people in another part of the island (Penville), where there used to be many and still are a few Caribs, also make of latanier a kind of sack which they use for pressing their manioc.

[482]

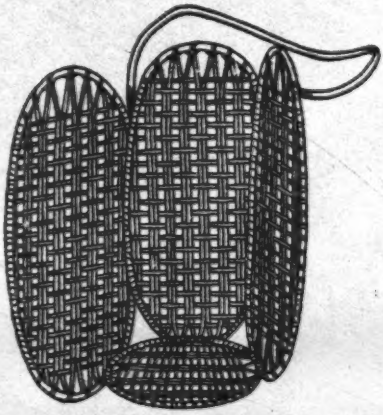

FIGURE 22.—Shoulder basket.

(6) Bamboo is used as well as for the round baskets mentioned in (4) for making sambwa, a kind of round basket with narrowed mouth, used for carrying fish caught off the rocks. It is also employed as an alternate to cotton thread in making [227] kali, a local variety of fish pot or landing net used for catching flying fish (fig. 25). The sambwa is, except for its shape, of similar construction to the round radial-type baskets and has a cord handle. The kali

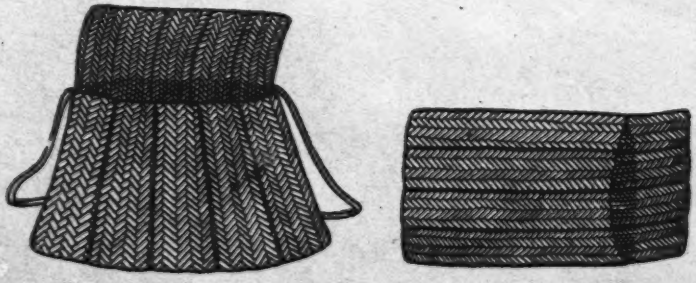

FIGURE 24.—Game basket.

have a bamboo frame and handle and an open hexagonal mesh (similar to that of the panier cocaille) of cotton thread or bamboo.

285 [352] (7) Simple roll-up mats (fig. 26), on which children or others may sleep, are made from the balizier leaf, dried and bound together horizontally to the required length by Bromelia twine.

(8) Bakwa (*Pandanus* sp.) and (9) vétiver (*Vetiveria odorata*), imported, one from the Pacific, the other from the East Indies, and used here for plaiting hats (an industry of obviously foreign origin) and occasionally for covering huts and shelters.

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The leaves of a tree known as bois tan (not *Byrsonima spicata*, also called bois tan) give, when macerated in water, a mauve dye used for coloring the strands of a liana called mibi, for basket making.

Saffron is the local name of a shrub, the expressed juice of whose carrotlike fruit constitutes a yellow dye similarly employed.

Kwachi and Bois Cassave are the local names for two trees, the juice of whose fruits provides a black stain or ink, used sometimes on thread or cloth.

Though not properly coming under the heading of pigments, a kind of mud found at certain points along the river banks may be mentioned here, as it is used for staining the stems of the larouman, to which it imparts a very fine black. The stems are merely buried in the mud, and left there for 2 or 3 days.

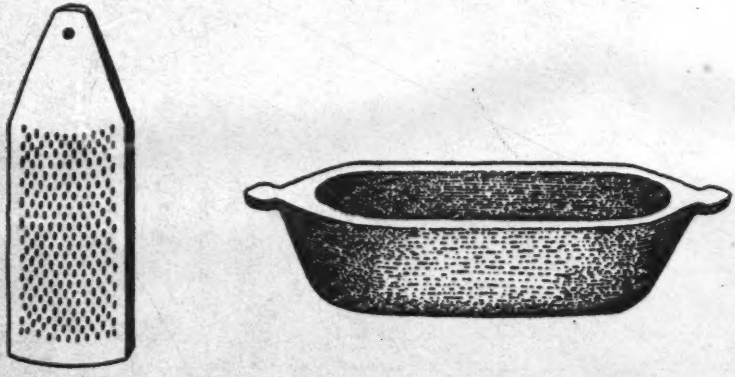

FIGURE 30.—Cassava grater and cassava canoe.

OTHER DOMESTIC REQUISITES AND THEIR USES

The Caribs' domestic utensils, apart from those which come under the heading of basketry, consist of the following: Cassava grater, cassava canoe, platine, palette, pestle and mortar, boucan or barbecue, cane press, terrine, bouri and coui (kinds of calabash), lélé or swizzle stick. As many of these articles (all, with the exception of the platine) are home-made, and serve principally in the preparation of cassava, it will be as well to start by describing that process.

The tubers of the manioc (*Manihot utilissima*), of which there are several varieties (see section on cultivation), are first scraped to remove the outer skin and then washed. Next they are grated on the "grage" or cassava grater into the "counou" or cassava canoe (fig. 30). The former is a board, some 3 feet long by 1 broad, into which sharp flints or nails have been driven. The latter is made from the wood of the gommier tree in the same manner and in almost the same shape as the real dugouts, except that the "counou" is neither

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252 415 opened out nor bordered as is the "canot." At either end a small handle is carved to facilitate manipulation. The cassava canoe is usually about 5 to 6 feet long by about 2 feet high and 18 inches across. When a sufficient quantity of manioc has been grated, the 252 pulp is pressed, in order to remove the poisonous juice, by one of three methods: (*a*) by applying weight or leverage to a matapi (see under basketry) filled with the wet grated manioc; (*b*) by squeezing through leverage a sack made for this purpose from latanier (*Thrinax* sp.) and filled with the grated manioc pulp; (*c*) by wringing out the moisture in a cloth. Thus dried, the grated, squeezed manioc is next passed through the hébichet, or sifter (q. v. under basketry), in order to remove lumps and to render it of an equal fineness. Meanwhile the manioc water, or juice wrung from the grated manioc, has had time to settle in the calabashes in which it was collected. The residue or starch, known here as "moussache," is removed, dried, and either mixed with the meal or set aside for separate use.

[354]

FIGURE 31.—Platine with cassava bread baking under shelter.

354 The dry sifted meal is now ready to be baked on the platine (fig. 31). This, in the old days a slab of stone or earthenware, is today a round sheet of iron, 6 to 10 feet in diameter, heated from beneath, and housed in a special circular shelter of thatch known as the "cafe-platine." On it the meal is baked 252 either into cassavas or into farine. The former is a round flat pancake about three-quarters of an inch thick and 2 feet in diameter. While baking, the meal is patted into shape, flattened, and turned with the help of a miniature paddle (fig. 32), some 2 to 3 feet long, known as a palette. Farine (manioc flour) is likewise baked on the platine, but instead of its being pressed and shaped it is constantly stirred during the process. These two products (together with tannia, yams, edoes, plantain, etc.) constitute the staple food of the Dominica Caribs today.

FIGURE 32.—Cassava palette.

Toumalin (the tamali of the Mexicans?) is still made by the older Caribs in the reserve. It is a brown pungent sauce with peculiar flavor and the consistency of thick gravy, made by the prolonged boiling of the manioc water from which the starch has been removed,

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and to which pimentos, onions, fish, or ciriques (land crabs sp.) have been added. This sauce is used to moisten and season the otherwise insipid cassava bread. The noxious character of the manioc juice disappears in the boiling. 252

The unbaked manioc meal is sometimes sweetened with sugarcane juice, spiced, and then wrapped in plantain leaves, tied into little packages, and boiled to form a sort of dumpling known as "canqui."

Fond of liquor as the Caribs undoubtedly are, they no longer make any native drink (unless it be illicit rum), nor have they done so, it seems, for a considerable time. There are those, however, who remember an old man who used to make a beverage from the glou-glou palm and from that known to the Caribs as yattahou (*Acrocomia sclerocarpa*, and *Syagrus amaro* (?) respectively), but they were unable to tell me how it was made. 273

Pestle and mortar are indispensable utensils in any Carib home. With them are ground coffee, cocoa, castor-oil nuts, and everything else that has to be reduced to powder or paste. The former is club-shaped and about 3½ feet long, the latter being in the form of a jar some 2½ feet in height and 10 inches across the mouth. Both are made of any hard heavy wood such as white cedar or "tan" (*Byrsonima* sp.). 415

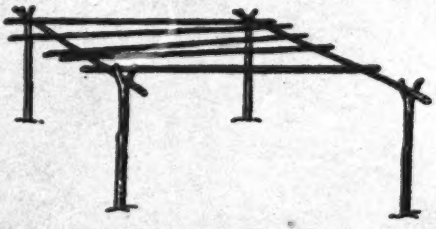

FIGURE 33.—Boucan or Carib barbecue.

Inside or outside of every Carib kitchen stands one or several boucan (fig. 33) (whence "buccaneer"), ready for smoke drying an excess of fish or game, which, thus preserved, will keep anywhere from a month to a year. Sticks of guépois (*Myrcia leptoclada* D. G.) or of bois d'Inde (*Pimenta acris* Sw.) are most often used for this purpose, and are stuck in the ground so as to form an erection some 2½ feet high resembling two football goals about 4 feet apart, across which other sticks are laid to form a grid. 417 251

A primitive type of cane press, also common to Guiana, is to be found outside nearly all the houses in the reserve (fig. 34). It consists of a thick post stuck in the ground. A cavity is hollowed out near the top, and a hole pierced, through which a lever passes. The cane, placed transversely across the mouth of the cavity, is crushed by the lever being brought down on successive sections, thus expressing the juice, which runs down grooves into a waiting receptacle. "Vesou" (sugarcane juice) is a cheap and ever-ready sweetening matter for coffee, cocoa, etc. 257

Despite its name, the terrine is a wooden bowl (rather like the modern salad bowls), which was and sometimes still is used for wash- 415

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445 ing or sweetening food, or even as an eating and drinking bowl. Rare.

The canari, of earthenware, and no longer made locally, is the name given to the "fait-tout" or "buck pot" of the Creoles. Other pots and pans, plates, and dishes, grow on trees in the calabash (*Crescentia cujete*, various species). They are of all shapes and sizes, but may be classed in three main groups according to the use for which they are destined. The largest, with a hole pierced in the top, is used for carrying water. Others, cut in half, are used for pans and dishes, or for drinking cups (couïs), according to size. Still others are made into containers of varying shapes, and sometimes decorated.

[257]

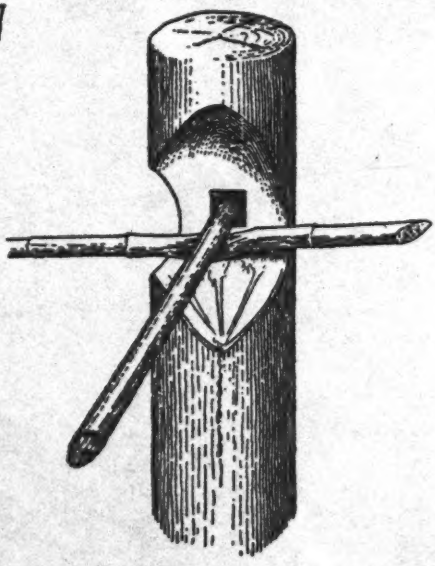

FIGURE 34.—Cano press.

The lélé is a long, thin, natural swizzle stick, cut from the branch of a small tree (*Ximenia americana*?) at the junction of a number of twigs. The wood is of light yellow color and has a spicy, curry-like smell. Contrary to popular opinion, the bâton lélé or swizzle stick is used mainly in the West Indies, not for making punches (the native takes his rum straight), but for preparing chocolate, calalou (a sort of gumbo soup) and other dishes of local repute.

CANOES

501 Probably the most typical product of the Island Carib is, and always has been, the dugout canoe. The word itself—as the French "canot," which term designates, in local patois, the dugout—is derived through Spanish from the Carib "kanaua," which was their name for the large variety of dugout or war canoe. The Carib name for the smaller craft seems to have been, in the men's language, "ukuni," in the women's, "kuriàla," whence our word, corial. The Spanish called the smaller craft "piragua," whence French and English "pirogue," a term now applied to big, barge-like, open vessels and to large canoes used for coastwise transport of cargo. That there is or has been confusion of terms is obvious; Father Labat

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a, Hut in the Reserve. b, Refreshments with bamboo for beaker. c, Launching a canoe. d, Mixed types: Mother and child.

[P. 159-B]

142 hammocks or smoking, crouched around their huts and appearing to meditate; they rarely speak and let their wives take care of all the work. Formerly they demanded absolute submission from them and did not permit them to take their meals with them. In the course of our trip, while we were passing in front of a Carib hut, we saw a young and strong man walking about calmly, surrounded by four children, the youngest of which was in his arms, while the women of the house busied themselves outside with the hardest work.

342 The Carib dwellings are rectangular huts more or less raised above the ground, with walls made of mixed straw of bamboo or some other wood and covered with palm leaves; sometimes they have over hangs as shelter against the sun. These huts differ little from what they were formerly, according to descriptions of them which the first observers left us, and at that time they called a group of huts a carbet(2).

2. This term has perpetuated itself in the French Antilles and in Martinique one still finds the village of Carbet and the peak of Carbet which dominates this settlement.

of which one was most important, in which an entire family lived. The house of the present Carib chief is of a more elaborate design, and the roof is of wood instead of thatch; inside it consists of four rooms, each containing a bed and chairs.

513 286 422 352 Personal property is usually simpler and consists of "hammocks," a word of Carib origin used in most European languages. The hammocks are made by the women out of cotton cultivated near the hut; they are braided and not woven, and existed even at the time of the conquest. They were dyed red with roucou, and according to Father Labat, there were some larger than others, called marriage hammocks, braided by mothers for their daughters when they were married, but in which two people never slept together. The household utensils are gourds of different sizes, vases of baked earth and skullfully woven baskets. The Carib basket serves the natives as chest and cupboard; /138/ it is made with the greatest care of reeds painted in different colors, and is so well constructed that water cannot pass through, and the cover of the basket fits the bottom so well that the heaviest rains cannot dampen the contents. Its shape is that of a rectangular parallelepiped twice as long as it is wide. It is very light, and the

415 blacks and European creoles still use it today, not only in Dominica,
285 but also in Guadeloupe and in Martinique. The Caribs, as a matter
[439] of fact, make these baskets not only for their own use, but they also sell them in order to obtain articles which they need, knives, hatchets, pieces of cloth, alcohol, etc. The Caribs formerly used the matatou, a kind of square coverless basket, supported by four feet, and the
[482] catoli, a kind of hod used by the women to carry potatoes, bananas, fish, and other food products to the hut.

262 The diet of the Caribs is however not complex; it is almost ex-
824 clusively vegetable, and is supplemented from time to time by a few crabs or by fish. The plants they eat are cultivated by them or are gathered in the forest. The most important are the yam, Dioscorea sativa, the sweet potato, Convolvulus batatas, the Caribbean cabbage, Colocasia esculenta or Xanthosoma sagittaefolia, and finally the cassava, Manihot dulcis and Manihot edulis, from whose roots they extract farina with the aid of a very primitive press and which is used by them in making the cassava, a kind of baked pancake which formerly took the place of bread in all the Antilles. The trees which supply them with fruits are numerous: these are the mango-trees, the guava-trees, the coeo-nut trees, the banana trees, and the famous bread-fruit tree, Artocarpus (1) incisa, imported from Asia and Polynesia but

1. From ἄρτος, bread and καρπός, fruit.

long since acclimated in the Antilles. The forest supplies them with
[439] another article of exchange, a tree, (called the "Bay tree" by the English) whose leaves they gather, which are taken to Roseau and thence sent to Europe or the United States, where an essence is extracted for use in perfume-making.

262 Meat is an unimportant part of their diet and the few animals
[23] they raise; pigs of Spanish or /139/ French origin, and domestic
439 poultry, hens and ducks serve more as articles of exchange than as
266 food. Even formerly when they did not object to human flesh, it seems that they used it only rarely; when following a war they had massacred a large number of enemies, they thought it only fitting to eat them. Furthermore, Father Labat is full of indulgence towards them on this point, and although they had once offered him the smoked arm of an Englishman, probably the remains of a feast, he finds it hard to apply to them the epithet of cannibals.

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Later estimates are, for St Vincent: Philip Warner's "3000 Negroes and no other island as many Indians," and Stapleton's "1500 [warriors], 600 of these bowmen are Negroes," both taken from the Calendar of State Papers for the year 1676.[24] These figures may be compared with la Borde's estimated 4000 in 1700 for the two islands of Dominica and St Vincent together, i.e., after two attempts by the British under Stapleton in 1683 to exterminate the Caribs in both islands.

"The staple food of the *Carib* was the crab. . . . They roasted the meat, seasoning it with a sauce called taumalin, a mixture of lime juice and pounded peppers with the greenish meat next to the shell of the male crab. . . . For the seasoning of fish and meat they used a sauce called coui, which was made by boiling the juice of manioc with crushed peppers, lime juice, and manioc flour."[25] As the Carib word for food does not include fish, meat, or game, which may be called by a term meaning *food adjuncts*, crab—fond of it as the Caribs were and still are—cannot properly be called their staple food, which was and is cassava, a bread or bannock made from manioc meal. Incidentally, the manioc shrub is propagated by cuttings of two or three feet long taken from the stem of an old plant, and not, as Rouse would have it in speaking of the Arawak, from the root.[26] The Carib may have taken to citrus fruits before 1700, but neither the sauce which the modern Carib call [tumálē] in Dominica and [dumári] in Central America, nor that known to Breton as "tóma *sausse*, nitomáliem *ma sausse*," calls for the employment of lime juice as an ingredient. Breton says "it is so called because the women usually make it with tomali of crab, which is oily"; and he refers us to "carîouati *poivré*," where we find:

> They put into a little earthen pot together with mouchache [that is, manioc starch], forty or fifty peppers [*Capsicum frutescens*] as big as the thumb, fish-scales, fish-bones, or the bones of agouti which they have gnawed, boil the lot in manioc-water (which is poisonous), and that is the sauce in which they dip their cassava (when they have nothing else). . . .[27]

The name of this sauce has been incorporated into the English language as "toma·ll(e)y, n. Soft greenish substance (called the liver) in lobster, used as sauce. (Carib)." (Concise Oxford Dictionary). Such sauce would naturally be served in the receptacle still known in the West Indies as a coui [kuí], and made from the half of a calabash (cujete)[27a] cut in two lengthwise. Although this is one

24 *Calendar of State Papers*, 1675-1676, no. 861, and p. 499.
25 *Handbook*, p. 550.
26 *Handbook*, p. 522.
27 Breton, *Dictionaire Caraïb-Français*, p. 109.
27a *Crescentia cujete.*

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of the words black-listed by Breton as "point mots Sauvages," he himself gives what is probably the parent Carib form under "*cousi à boire* couáikeu," phonetically ['kwɛkɛ̄].

Rouse omits to mention two important classes of kitchen utensils: the mortar (ánna), and the manioc trough (batáia), both carved out of single pieces of wood, the latter being just as important to the manioc complex as the stone-chip grater (eše), the basketry squeezer (rukúma) and sifter (hibíše), and the cassava-plate or griddle (butáli).

"Corn, sweetpotatoes, yams, beans, and peppers also were cultivated, the corn being made into bread as among the *Arawak*." Rouse elsewhere mentions corn beer.[28] Corn is and apparently always was of very secondary importance to the Carib, and it seems doubtful whether the Carib ever made much use of bread or beer made from it. Breton has this to say about it:

> After it has grown, that is to say two months after it has been sown, the Savages gather and roast it on the coals, then eat it. The Galibi make from it a fermented drink which is not inferior to beer. The French use it to feed poultry, while some turn it into flour, which they mix with an equal quantity of wheat flour, and make with this a fine bread which tastes quite good.[29]

Breton elsewhere describes at length the making of cassava-beer (uéku), and speaks of a beverage of boiled cassavas in connection with the couvade. On the other hand, the only use made of corn by the modern Dominica Carib is that described in the first sentence of the above quotation from Breton. Botanists usually describe yams (*Dioscorea* spp.) as of Old World origin, but it now seems certain that a species of *Dioscorea trifida*, known to the Carib as kúšu, and formerly much employed by them, was American. Two other food plants, not listed by Rouse but fairly important to the Carib of Breton's day and at the present time, are *Xanthosoma* spp. (uáho) and pumpkin (uauáiama). By "guayba," Rouse presumably means *guava*, Carib: kuiábu.

We are told that hammocks were "made of a network of cotton thread," and that "the weaving of cloth may not have been an original part of Carib culture. The women had wooden spindles for making thread and used belt looms for weaving it. They stretched the warp threads from a stick on one side of the house to a stick on the other; then two women wove in the weft, beating the threads down with a sword shaped stick."[30] Breton, on the other hand, describes the

28 *Handbook*, pp. 551-557.
29 Breton, *op. cit.*, p. 355.
30 *Handbook*, pp. 552, 555.

13: Hodge & Taylor N, E-5 (1930-1956) 1957
ST13 Callinago ST13

301
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482
516
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A FAMILY of CHARAIBES, drawn from the Life, in the ISLAND of St VINCENT.

Fig. 5 – A Carib family, drawn from life, in the Island of St.Vincent (From an early engraving).

[opposite p. 523]

13: Hodge & Taylor N, E-5 (1930-1956) 1957
ST13 Callimago ST13

X 824
[48]
[241
45]

Fig. 8

[253
412]

Fig. 9

HISTORICAL ETHNOBOTANY IN THE ANTILLES. — Fig. 8 - Collecting papayas, *Carica papaya*. — Fig. 9 - Grating roots from the cassava plant, *Manihot esculenta* (Both figures reproduced from Rochefort, 1665).

[Opposite p. 538]

13: Hodge & Taylor N, E-5 (1930-1956) 1957
ST13 Callinago ST13

An acaulescent herb widely distributed in the West Indies and tropical South America. The plant is to be found in Dominica on open grassy slopes at lower elevations.

The tunicated bulbs are said to be eaten by the older generation presumably as we do those of onions. Also, a decoction made from the bulb is taken by women at the time of their menopause or to relieve painful or irregular menstruation.

Specimen citation: 3 (T), 3188.

Trimezia martinicensis (Jacquin) Herbert, Bot. Reg. 30. misc. 88. 1844.

Cipura martinicensis Kunth, Nov. Gen. & Sp. 1 (1816) 321.

Coco Chat.

This little yellow flower is to be found on grassy slopes throughout the West Indies and continental tropical America.

The corms of this species possess an acrid yellow juice. They are grated by the Carib and mixed with other unknown ingredients. This mixture is then kept by an individual on his person as a charm to ensure success if he gets into a fight.

Specimen citation: 3304.

MUSACEAE. Banana Family.

Heliconia bihai Linnaeus Mant. 2: 211. 1771.

Bihai bihai Griggs in Bull. Torr. Bot. Club 31: 445. (1904). as to source of name only.

Wild Plantain. — Balisier. — *balíri*. (cf. *balére*).

This species with bicolored bracts is probably to be found throughout the Lesser Antilles. In Dominica it occurs, often in colonies, on wet open slopes or along streambanks at middle and higher elevations.

Balisier leaves are used by the Caribs to cover temporary shelters in the woods (ajoupas), as waterproof lining material between the inner and outer layer of certain basket types (larouman paniers) in areas where cachibou (*Calathea lutea*) is not available, and as a «paper» substitute to wrap up fish, game, etc. Leaves of balisier are also utilized to wrap up, a) fish for roasting

13: Hodge & Taylor N, E-5 (1930-1956) 1957
ST13 Callinago ST13

in fire, *b*) titiri (a tiny fish) for steaming in a closed pot, *c*) sweetened meal of manioc or maize for boiling in water to make a kind of pudding. The midribs of the leaves are often sun-dried, cut to equal lengths and bound together at their ends parallel to one another so as to form roll-up mats used to sleep on. The petioles are often cut to form temporary braces used in making baskets. The leaves as well as the sap of the stem are employed as an unguent for burns, inflammation, etc. Balisier leaf heart together with water obtained from the hole of a pois doux (*Inga*) tree is used in the local treatment of erysipilis. The watery sap of balisier, mixed with the juicy pulp of the genip (*Genipa americana*) and with the ashes of burnt panicles of roseau (*Gynerium sagittatum*), is used as an unguent applied to yaws (framboesia). A red dye is said to have been made from the blue fruits.

Specimen citation: 1086, 2630.

Heliconia caribaea Lamarck, Encycl. 1: 426. 1783.

Heliconia bihai sensu authors (24).

Wild Plantain. — Balisier. — *baléri* (cf. *baléru*).

The commonest of the wild plantains generally confused even in current botanical literature with the preceding (24), but widely distributed throughout all the wet tropical regions bordering on the Caribbean. In Dominica colonies may be found in habitats similar to those occupied by the preceding species.

H. caribaea is put to the same use by the Caribs as is *H. bihai*.

Specimen citation: 3416, 3417.

Musa paradisiaca Linnaeus, Sp. Pl. 1043. 1753.

Plantain. Banane. — *baléru*, *baléuse* (cf. Spanish platano).

Plantains originated in southeastern Asia but are cultivated in the tropics throughout the world. They are said to have been introduced into Hispaniola about 1500 and are recorded from Dominica in 1595 (21). Since the latter date they have grown to be a staple cultivated food in Dominica where they often persist after cultivation.

The Island Caribs formerly pounded and dried the fruits to form a sort of paste or concentrated food taken on voyages and consumed after mixing with water. Today plantains form one of

13: Hodge & Taylor N, E-5 (1930-1956) 1957
ST13 Callinago ST13

the chief native foodstuffs. They are usually boiled, rarely roasted, but in either case always in the green condition (unripe). The «popote» (i. e. the inflorescence bud) of this species or of the banana is crushed and its juice is applied as a cure for ulcers. Like those of the balisiers (*Heliconia* spp.) the leaves of both plantains and bananas are much used as wrapping material.

Specimen citation: no herbarium material collected.

Musa paradisiaca Linnaeus subsp. **sapientum** (Linnaeus) O. Kuntze, Rev. Gen. 2: 692. 1891.

Banana. — Figue. — **bakáku**.

The distribution of the banana is identical with that of the plantain.

Bananas are hardly as important as plantains in the Caribs' diet, but they are an important commercial export crop in Dominica. A drink was formerly made from the fruit but today it is generally eaten ripe out of hand.

Specimen citation: no herbarium material collected.

ZINGIBERACEAE. Ginger Family.

Aframomum granum-paradisi (Hooker) K. Schumann in Engler, Pflanzenreich 20: 213. 1904.

Grains-of-Paradise Amomum. — Poivre Guinée.

This African plant was originally described from Sierra Leone. Various species of this fragrant-leaved genus have pungent seeds which, in the Middle Ages, were a popular substitute for pepper. Today they are still used medicinally and as a flavoring agent (22).

Caribs frequently cultivate poivre guinée near their dwellings for they utilize the seeds as a spice. The leaves, considered to be a charm, are rubbed on the body when bathing and are constituents of a ritual bath (described under *Ocimum micranthum*) for unlucky canoes. A similar bath is given to their hunting dogs. A tea is made from the leaves for stomach ache and the seeds are put into rum as a «chauffe» to excite dogs.

Specimen citation: 121 (T), 3204.

13: Hodge & Taylor N, E-5 (1930-1956) 1957
ST13 Callinago ST13

X 824
[342]
[285]

Fig. 19

Fig. 20

● [415
285]
[415]

Fig. 21

Fig. 22

DOMINICA CARIB PLANTS. — Fig. 19 - *Carludovica plumieri*, whose leaves serve as a temporary thatch. — Fig. 20 - A plant of mâki, *Anthurium palmatum*, showing the aerial binding roots utilized in the weaving of spiral baskets. — Fig. 21 - A spiral basket woven from mâki roots. It has been colored yellow and mauve with the local vegetable dyes, « safflras » (Curcuma) and « tan » (Pterocaulon). — Fig. 22 - The common balisier, *Heliconia caribaea*, whose utilitarian leaves (above left) are used as thatch, in basketry, and as a common wrapping medium.

[Opposite p. 562]

13:Hodge & Taylor N, E-5 (1930-1956) 1957
ST13 Callinago ST13

W. H. Hodge & Norman Taylor, *The Albuminizing of the Island Caribs of Dominica.*

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[412
252
291]
[415
231]

Fig. 29

Fig. 30

[252]

Fig. 31

Fig. 32

DOMINICA CARIB PLATES. — Fig. 29 – A kitchen mortar and pestle in use at Salybia. The mortar is *gommier* and the pestle is made of bois d'inde (*Pimenta*). — Fig. 30 – A trough or « canoe » made of *gommier* wood for holding grated cassava roots (*Manihot*). — Fig. 31 – Making cassava cakes on a griddle. — Fig. 32 – Flowering-twigs and foliage of the mombin, *Spondias mombin*, a tree supplying an edible, date-sized, acid fruit utilized in several ways by the Island Carib.

[Opposite p. 579]

13: Hodge & Taylor N, E-5 (1930-1956) 1957
ST13 Callinago ST13

824X

commonly as crude kitchen utensils, which in some areas may be highly ornamented by carving or painting (50).

Domestic usage of calabash fruits by the Caribs of Guadeloupe was noted early by CHANCA on Columbus' second voyage. Several varieties of the calabash are known today to the Caribs of Dominica. One type is large and pear-shaped (callebasse-longue), another large and globose (callebasse-ronde), and another rather small and elongate (callebasse-coucou, or callebasse boite). The last type (*tibákuru* in Carib) is cut horizontally across the middle, and the two halves are then scooped out and cleaned. The halves are then carefully fitted one into the other so as to form a little box used for keeping « fire-stone », tinder, and steel.

824X
415●

The pear-shaped and globose calabashes may be scooped out and cleaned through a round hole, about one inch in diameter, cut on one side near the narrower end. Such utensils, called in Carib *hámuri* (w), *malátuku* (m), are then used as water vessels to draw, carry, and hold water neeeded for the house. Others, called *eulíu* (w) or *tátu* (m), had the hole cut in the middle of one side; these were used formerly for holding cassava beer.

Smaller calabashes are cut in two longitudinally and each half forms a « coui » which serves as plate, dish, or cup; Carib canoes always carry one or two of these which are used for bailing. « Coui » (probably borrowed from Tupi) were called *kudíko*, *ríta*, or *tásha* (the first two words designating calabash halves designed as drinking cups, the third being applied to those used as dishes). Shamans' rattles, called *sísira* (w) or *malíka* (m), were also made from the calabash. Calabashes, particularly the coucou type, are occasionally decorated by making incisions into which black or red colors are subsequently rubbed.

[501]
[534]
[531]

Specimen citation: 118 (T), 119 (T), 120 (T).

Enallagma latifolia (Miller) Small, Fl. Miami. 171, 200. 1913.
Crescentia cucurbitina Linnaeus, Mant. 2: 250. 1771.
Black Calabash. — Calebasse.

A tree of the West Indies and the tropical coutries bordering the Caribbean.

The Black Calabash produces small subglobose fruits which perhaps may be utilized by the Caribs for domestic utensils.

[415]